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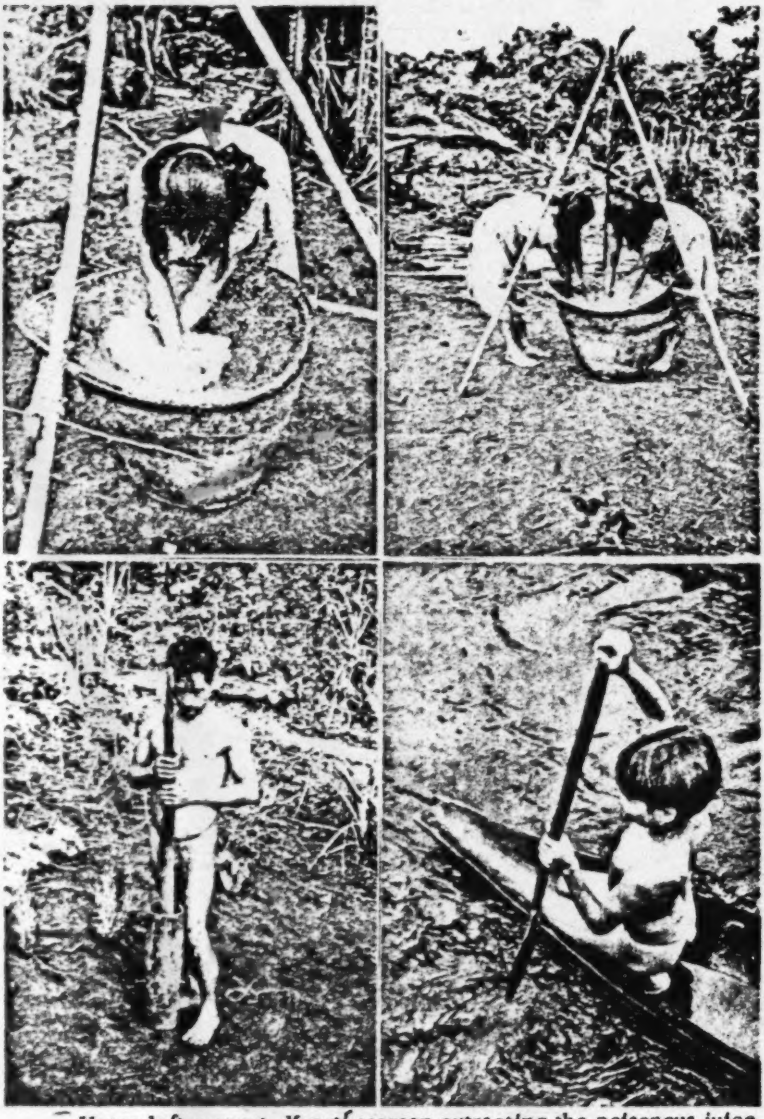

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yuruti women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

/174 cont./

361 And, in order to avoid the annual floods, they locate themselves on more elevated points or "terra-firme" and are never seen in palafittes (6).

6. In some posts on the Colombian frontier, called "Comissaria," a residence for the customs officials and the guards is built on an elevated point, on posts about two meters from the ground, approximately. In 1952 an Indian from the Brazilian bank of the Papurí imitated this style in building his hut. In jest the others called it "comissaria."

351 In the povoados of two or more houses, or behind the single maloca, there will always be a beaten area that separates them, by about 50 or 100 meters, from the forest and guards against attacks by ferocious animals.

241 They regularly plant in the vicinity the pimenteira (different varieties of cápsicum), pupunha, assaí, urucum, and, with less frequency, the cucura /Pourouma cecropiaefolia, Mart./, lemon tree (today also the orange tree), mamoeiro (papaya cárica), abio (lucúma caimíta, Roem. e Schulth.), /175/ sugar cane (sáccharum officinale, Lin.), tobacco (nicotiana tabácum), and coca (erythróxilon coca).

249 Often one sees a small press, ã'rã̃ arõãrõ (Uaupés a'nã̃ anyãnõ), for sugar cane (7).

• 415

*[192]

7. In a maloca of the Tuyuka, on the headwaters of the Tiquié, the press was found inside the maloca, in the vicinity of the main door.

They are generally four vertical posts, well planted in the ground, supporting two wooden cylinders provided with longitudinal grooves and which turn in opposite directions, pressing the cane between

/175 cont./

249 them. Although this is not a plant native to Brazil (8),

• 415

8. This is commonly thought. The cane has an Asiatic origin from China, from where it passed to the Mediterranean, and from Spain to the New World. The year of 1627 is marked as being the one of its introduction in Pará. It is certain that at the time of the discoveries the Indians were already planting cane. Alonso de Rojas, in the report on the journey of Pedro de Teixeira in 1637, tells us this ("Descobrimento do Rio das Amazonas," p. 114).

Nordenskiöld thinks that the press is a native invention, according to his material and resources. Nordenskiöld's opinion does not seem acceptable to us for the presses and the tribes of the Uaupés. [177] They would be an imitation of the presses that the civilized have used on the lower Rio Negro since the eighteenth century.

351 A square, maxkã-pá, or rectangular area, cleaned of any
*[192] vegetation, and usually proportional to the population, is located in front of the maloca. It is also called baxsarí-u'tú, "dance yard"; actually some numbers of the ceremonial dances are performed there.

351 There is always a road a few meters wide, and clean, that
504 leads to the landing place, or places, where they tie the canoes and take their bath. A road that serves, moreover, for the procession of Wãx-tí at his festival (cf. VII - 4, e (2)).

504 When the steep bank of the river is very high, they build a stairway with steps of earth or of timbers. If the steps are of earth, they are made immovable with roundish timbers of about two meters, tied to small stakes driven into the ground or tied transversely, by means of cipos, to two long lateral parallel beams.

*192 /176 cont./
342 It was solidly built upon five pairs of supports, boxtá-ri (9),

9. Greatly preferred for supports is the "pau-vermelho" /red wood/ (mira-piranga) of the Caesalpiniaceae.

which demarcate the central nave (see the nomenclature of the columns - VII - 4, e (2)). They were roundish pieces of timber, straight, rustic (without removal of the bark), but quite regular and well-proportioned, as were also the beams, nɛ̃xtõ-rĩ (Uaupés, nɛ̃xtõ-nĩ), and rafters, wa' sõ-rĩ (U. wa' sõ-nĩ).

All the timberwork was solidly joined together with cipo (10).

[177]

10. In some of the modern houses nails are already appearing in beams, laths, etc.

353 In the interior the supports, all of them nicely aligned, divided the space into five naves. The three central ones for common use: passage, meetings, dances, visits, and work. Kept there, but toward the back, were the utensils [415] /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /177/ of common use, such were the large vessels of baked clay and the wooden tubs for the fermentation of the caxirís, and the oven for making the flour. It is here that the dances are performed on the occasion of the festivals (11).

11. Some malocas have only three naves, the central one being wider. We have also seen four naves. In those with five, the three intermediary naves are always used for work (preparation of the flour, of the caxirí, etc.) and for meetings.

/Illustrations facing p. 176 in the original source./

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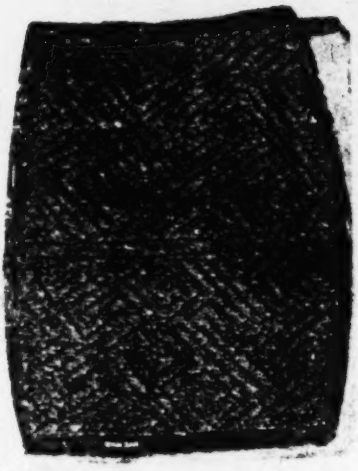


Grater
(One is seeing the small stones incrusted in a regular design.)

133
505

View of the Uaupés during the period of low tide and a canoe filled with baskets for trading with other tribes

177 /178 cont./
342 vessels of baked clay, and a cylindrical bark container, quite
353 well made, similar to the straight barrels in which we keep
• 415 chestnuts and codfish.

Nowadays (and since the time of the discoveries, as the
231 first explorers attest) the dog, which, besides guarding, also serves for hunting, is found as a domestic animal in the various malocas and houses, and in all the tribes. Ordinarily small, hungry, extremely thin; some do not support the weight of the body. Many of these animals, due to the stings of the fire ant or taxi, have suffered degeneration of the cornea and for this reason have white eyes.

/179/ Here and there in the malocas and povoados are also seen araras, parrots, mutums /Crax/, jacamins, or domes-
[797] ticated jacus. The Missions have encouraged the raising of
[177] pigs and chickens. The chickens go back to the first colonizers of the Rio Negro, and to protect them, by way of a chicken coop where they are sheltered during the night, they make small conical enclosures with the vertex upwards, or they use some old canoe, turned upside down, with an opening that they close at night, in order that the micura (gambá /opossum/) or some other animal that chases chickens can not enter.

*[192] In the Arwáke languages the chicken is called karáka, probably onomatopoeia for the chicken's voice. Onomatopes are otherwise very common among the tribes of the Uaupés to designate the birds. Perhaps from karáka is derived the word of the Tukano language which means chicken, i.e., ká'rẽkẽ or ka'rẽkẽ (Uaupés ká'nẽkẽ, ka'nẽkẽ). According to this hypothesis, it is from the Arwáke that the Tukano (and the tribes of the Uaupés in general) would have received the first chickens, or at least knowledge of them. Such a hypothesis is made probable, not only by the greater cultural development of the Arwáke, but also by their prior relationship with the civilized of the Rio Negro.

342 It seems that there is no rule with regard to the orientation of the maloca or with regard to the distance from the river or from the forest.

/186 cont./

• 415
*[192] 3) Grater. In Tukano it is called soxkõ-rõ (Uaupés soxkõ-nõ) and in Nheengatú wiwisé. It is a specialty of the Baniva Indians of the Içana River (see IV -- 1, b), where the quartzite used in the grater exists in an igarapé near the cachoeira of Tunuí.

We have seen on the Içana that the preparation of the plank falls to the man, the incrustation of the small stones being executed ordinarily by the women.

As an object that is of prime necessity, it is found in all the malocas and huts, even in regions very remote from the Içana, acquired by barter from the Baniva.

*[192] It is generally made out of marupá (simaruba amara, Aubl.),
*[192] white and light wood, whose fibers tend to return to the original position when they are made to deviate. In Tukano it is called precisely soxkõ-gõ, that is, grater wood. It consists of a plank of 60 to 100 and 120 centimeters in length, and 40 to 50 in width by 2 to 4 in thickness, and somewhat curved. They start by executing
*[531] on the concave face the desired or, rather, traditional design,
*[192] which facilitates the grating operation (21),

> 21. There is a design pattern called precisely soxkõ-rõ óori, flowers of the grater.

like a small groove. Afterwards, with a point (today they use a nail) and following the lines of the design, they open a small orifice. Before the fibers of the wood return to their natural position, they set in small stones of flint in the shape of a tooth, in such a way that a chip measuring half a centimeter emerges. The small stones are better stabilized with the latex from the sorva, spread with a brush of fibers from the banana tree, whose tannin
*[192] gives more consistency to the latex. The stones are set at a distance of one centimeter apart and occupy the central part of the plank, leaving small side margins, a lower margin of 15 to 20 centimeters and another upper one, or head of the grater, soxkõ-rõ dõxpoá, of about 30 centimeters, this last one having a projection in the manner of a handle. This handle is used, however, only to hang up the grater.

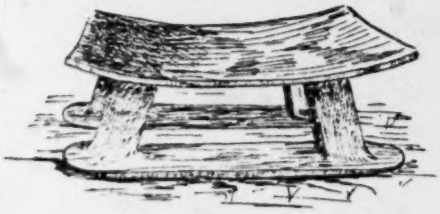
/186 cont./

• 415 252 The woman, as she grates, will do it with the two hands alternately, and not in a uniform rhythm, but with sudden pulls that cause movement of her very breasts. She will be seated on the ground, having between /187/ her legs the grater, the head [462] of which they support against the stomach. It is exclusively women's work.

The grater is such an useful object that on the lower Rio Negro the civilized adopted it as well as the tipitĩ (VI -- 2, d (1)).

*192 352 4) Seat. The seat, in Tukano kũ-mũ-rõ (Uaupés kũmũ-no), is in general use, although its specialized producers are the Tukano. It is generally made out of sorva or arara-seringa (Cóuma guianénsis, Muell.), a not very heavy wood which hardly cracks.

They formerly made it with the help of their primitive adze. Today, instead of the syó-a, they use a digging iron or even an adze obtained from the civilized.



Little monoxylic seat (ku-mũ-rõ)

The dimensions are the most varied, some of only 30 to 40 centimeters and others of 120 to 150 centimeters. The style, however, is constant, to wit, the seating place is concave, with a double curvature in the longitudinal and transverse directions. It is always low, only 10 to 15 centimeters in height, with four legs connected by two longitudinal crossbars. And the seat, with the supports, is monoxylic, that is, made from one piece of wood.

[531 824] They are accustomed to decorating the seat with the traditional designs, and over it something like a varnish, obtained from the sap of the bark of a wild inga tree, mẽ'rẽ (Uaupés mẽ'nẽ).

/187 cont./

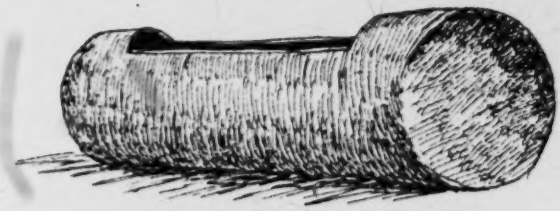
352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 276 [796] [178] /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utíkaro yaxpú or also utíkaro seré, or again mõrõ dõxkõ (?) (in Nheengatú emapú). In the dabacuris /religious celebrations/ the use of tobacco in the form of a large cigar, utíkaro, about 20 centimeters long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utíkaro is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 273 • 415 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pêru yuxkõ-sõ properly speaking means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú iwá, hence the term ubá, which means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxiri tub (pêru juxkõ-sõ)

/188 cont./

*192
• 415

7) Mortar. The mortar, pa-mõ-a, is one of the indispensable utensils and consists of a hollowed-out tree trunk. The shape and dimensions, however, will vary according to its purpose. Either it will have the common shape, as it is used among us, and is always small in size; this is used, for example, to crush the leaves of the ipadú.

Or it will resemble a caxirí tub, the trunk measuring about a meter or more in length, but small in diameter (about 20 centimeters). It is in this latter mortar that they crush the caapí (and for this reason it is called kaxpí pa-mõ-a) and the cará /yam/, cooked and chewed, for the preparation of the cará caxirí.

The pestle, doxké-kõ, looks like the one used among the civilized. It consists of a rounded stick, whose lower extremity widens into a cylindrical shape of larger radius.

/189/

Mortar (pa-mõ-a)

/195 cont./

285 If it is a matter of a sieve or basket, they finish with three
415 or four turns with the cipo, by way of a hoop (be'tó), on which
[192] they tie the ends of the plaiting and later trim the tips of the straws or the strips.

285 The basketry of these tribes is one of the richest known.
531 Using a more or less flexible material, they combine the plaited and the twined in several technical processes, with wide or closed spaces, and warps and woofs in various directions, in such a way that an amazing variety of patterns results. As a further demonstration of their ability, they interpose colored strips, from which appear the fanciful Greek frets /Port. gregas/ that characterize their designs. And, with such richness of imagination and technique, they make objects of varied size and shape, according to their purposes.

285 Baskets and sieves are made by all the tribes, but the spe-
415 cialists are the Desana.
184
[192]

1) Tipití. The tipití, in Tukano wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ, is the press of the Indian. It consists of a cylinder or tube, which the men weave most commonly with arumã straw, with a very tight mesh. It measures 1.50 and even 2 meters in length, and barely 10 centimeters in diameter. The upper end, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ dõxpo-á (head of the tipití), is open and terminates in a handle, by which the tipití is hung on one of the supports of the house. The other end is closed and also terminates in a handle, wãx-tĩ-kẽ-õ bé'tó (ring of the tipití). With the proper movement of the hands, the tipití is reduced to a shorter length, which has the effect of increasing the diameter, and through the mouth thus enlarged is introduced the mass of the grated mandioca (cf. VI - 4, a).

2) Sieves. They are used to strain the mass of mandioca, to sift the flour, etc., and are woven out of arumã straw.

The width of the meshes, dimensions, and shape will vary according to the use for which the sieve is intended. One finds some shallow, like our common sieves, and others deeper.

/196/

*192 285 415 One can distinguish three types of sieves: 1st, tõ-pa (in Nheengatú cumatá), is large, of very tight mesh, used to strain out the manicuera /the liquid from the mass of manioc/ and to extract the starch; 2nd, sṹó, or better sṍó-a (Nh. urupema), with a more open mesh and sometimes square in shape, in a frame of four rounded sticks, used to sift the mass of the water flour /see p. 310 /; 3rd, Baxtí, deeper, as small baskets for storing the beijú and other foods and objects. It is these that customarily bear the beautiful traditional designs.

3) Baskets.

*192 285 415 a) Pi'í are large baskets which on the Amazon are customarily called aturás. They are used to transport mandioca, fruits, earth, firewood, luggage; they are woven exclusively by the Makú, who also work for the other tribes.

The traditional shape is the cylindrical one, with the base slightly wider than the mouth. The material is the uambé cipo, misí-da, quite strong, chosen without knots, and which is placed on the fire, in order to slip off the bark easily. The cipo is broken into two or three parts, and the plaiting is started from the bottom. The mouth is of rings of cipo, like a hoop, and is tied to the basket with woven caroatá fibers.

*192 462 482 The woman, upon whom the carrying of the pi'í falls (the man must always walk unencumbered, in order to be able to defend himself and his family), carries it in the following manner: the aturá goes on her back, but is suspended from the forehead by means of a wide embira, pi'í-karõ-pá (29),

> 29. Or pi'í-kãrõ-kaxserí. It seems that the tree derived its name from the pi'í, because its embira is commonly used to transport the pi'í. Other embiras, however, are also used, such as sõ'ú-kaxsero, deóti-kõ.

the ends of which, passing through the mouth of the basket, run along it and are interwoven on the bottom of it. They thus transport a load of 30 to 50 kilograms for a distance of kilometers.

/196 cont./

*192 285 • 415 [756] b) A small basket of the shape and material of the pi'í, and in which the women keep their ornaments and painting powder, is called pi'í-kamõ.

c) Also customarily of cipo is a small hamper, called wamõ axka-ro, in which the paje /curer-sorcerer/ keeps his objects for treating sick people (cf. VII - 2, e).

d) In order to store or to transport the flour that they sell, they make the panniers, térẽ-pi (Uaupés ténẽ-pi), out of strips of arumã or taquara, and with quite wide meshes (two to three centimeters), and thus the manufacture is faster. They line them *with great skill, with leaves of myõ-gõ põrí*, or likewise of arumã or other plants, in such /197/ a way that they do not allow the flour to go through, even with the little care that it usually has during the loading, unloading, and transport.

4) Fan. With miritĩ or tucum fronds, or arumã straws, they plait an object similar to a fan, and which can perfectly replace it; it is called wẽ'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés wẽ'nĩ-nõ). They manufacture it in various sizes and use it to fan the fire, as well as like a scoop to turn the beijú in the oven. It is heart-shaped, and the bound straws themselves constitute the leg or support, by which the fan is held.

Some quite large ones are seen, of the natural size of the biggest miritĩ fronds, from which they are made, and they are used as mats for the divisions of the compartments of the malocas, or even to serve as a wall.

5) Quiver. They also prepare with arumã strips a quiver, bu'sá-sa, of cylindrical shape and about 40 centimeters in height, with a diameter of 8 or 10 centimeters, widening toward the mouth. It is used to store the small poisoned arrows [278] of the sarabatana /blowgun/, or curabís. To keep water from dissolving the poison, they customarily make this quiver impermeable with pitch.

/197 cont./

*192 354 6) Support for the cooking pot. With paxiúba splints about 40 or 50 centimeters in length, they prepare a support for the cooking pots, called sã'rĩ-rõ (Uaupés sã'nĩ-nõ).

It is essentially a bunch of splints, tied with cipo or embira in the central part, and the ends of which widen so as to form a spiral, in such a way that the sã'rĩ-rõ is similar to a double spiral-shaped cone, with a binding around the vertex. The ends are fixed by means of cipo or embira about two or three centimeters apart.

*192 • 415 7) Box for ornaments. It is a rectangular box, generally of miritĩ stalk reduced to laminae, which is used for storing the plumes and other dance ornaments. Since one box is smaller than another, the former is introduced inside the latter, as if it were its lid, in such a way that it remains tightly closed and in the shape of a trunk. In Tukano it is called mahã-poarĩ-karo, and in Nheengatú, pacará.

8) Other plaited work.

*192 285 a) Moreover, they weave the fronds from several palms to serve as roofing, peõkaro, and even more frequently as walls, tyãkaro.

/198/ b) They make mats for various purposes, called imĩ-sa (Nh. tupé), with leaves of different palm trees or with finer cipos.

c) With a rapid plaiting of the leaflets of some palm frond they improvise baskets, baː, in order to transport fruits from the forest.

d) From the pacova sororoca /Ravenala guianensis, Benth./ and other leaves they make up small bindings, called sãː or sáː, in the shape of an ear of maize, which they fill with pirá-mirims /a kind of fish/, in order to roast them.

/204 cont./

*192 2) Equipment for the ipadú and the caapí

• 415 a) To prepare the ipadú (cf. VI -- 4, i (3) /see 4, i (4)/), the Indian, besides a pot with a wide mouth, pátu axtɛ̃rĩ-tõ, and a small mortar, pa-mõ-a, in the usual fashion, needs bags and a long tube, patu pa:põ. The bags are obtained from the tururĩ (cf. VI -- 3).

b) For the kaxpí there becomes necessary a wooden tub, kaxpí pa-mõ-a (see VI -- 2, b (7)), in which the cipo is pounded, and a vessel, kaxpí-tõ (see 2, a (1)), in which the juice is collected and diluted with water.

855 3) Macurú. When the child starts to steady itself on its legs, they use a very practical process to entertain it and at the same time to teach it the first steps. It consists of a hoop which is obtained from a thick cipó wound several turns and tied to a beam. The child will stand inside the hoop, which reaches the height of its chest. A very flexible and soft embira, tied to the hoop, passes between the legs of the child, who thus remains as though riding a horse and can sit on the embira when it feels tired. Nowadays it is very common to find a piece of cloth instead of the primitive embira. This apparatus, which in the Lingua Geral is called macurú, and in Tukano bahari be'tó, is secured to one of the roof beams by a cipo and reaches a distance from the ground that allows the child to touch it with the feet and to try its first steps.

177
*[192]

/205 cont./

*192 • 415 824 4) Cuias and calabashes. Moreover they use cuias (wahá-ro) and calabashes (ỹaxsã̄), or ỹahã̄, ña'sã̄, of diverse sizes and shapes, /206/ as vessels for the most varied uses: to take water, to prepare chibé, to distribute the caapí, to store their colored powders, to manufacture the maracá (see VII -- 3, c (3)), etc.

a) The calabashes, obtained from the creeping calabash, Cucúrbita lagenária, Lin., of the Cucurbitaceae (yaxsã̄-ga), are used, when dried, without further work. The most important use for the calabashes is the making of the maracás and as containers for the colored powders.

*192 386 415 [824] b) The cuias, from the plant called cuieira or cuietezeira (Crescentia cuyete /cujete/, Lin., of the Bignoniaceae), are used to take water, chibé, mingau, etc. and exhibit an interior surface of lustrous black color. The woman manages this with the help of the wahá-ko (that is to say, cuia water; from wahá, cuia, and oxkó, water, liquid, juice).

Cuia (wahá-ro)

They slash the bark of the plant called wahá-ko-gȭ (39),

39. Pe. João Marchesi called our attention to the natives' custom of naming a vegetable after the use that they make of it.

cumati (myrcia atramentífera, B. Rod.), which exudes a dark red liquid; or they take scrapings from it, which, left for some time in a water infusion, produce a thick dark liquid, the wahá-kó.

/206 cont./

386 The wahá-kó is spread in the interior part of the cuia with a brush, letting it dry afterwards. The operation is repeated a second time and more, until it reaches the thickness of approximately one millimeter. Directly afterwards urine is spread on the ground and on this area they turn upside down, on small pieces of wood, the cuias that they wish to paint. The ammonia that comes from the urine transforms the layer of wahá-kó in the interior of the cuia into a black, shiny, and quite adherent varnish.

The same result is obtained by applying mandioca leaves saturated in urine over the layer of wahá-kó.

5) Other utilitarian objects.

824 The Indian has known how to obtain from the nature that surrounds him many other objects and resources for his life.

We shall recall some:

/207/ a) Papóque. The papóque, in Tukano pápwa-khá-sõtí, is the embira of a tree that produces foam, and they wash their heads with it, for lack of soap.

b) Tauarí. Táwari, as is also said in Tukano (couratari tauarí, of the family of the Lecythidaceae), is also an embira, which unrolls into very thin and flexible sheets that are used as cigar wrappers. They are obtained from the bark by striking it with a mallet until all the ligneous part has been detached.

c) Bags, cueio, and masks. The tururí, in Tukano waxsó-gõ, is a tree of several species of Manicariao, from whose liber or bast they prepare the bags for the ipadú, the masks (see VII -- 3, d (2)), and the waxsó-ro (in Nheengatú cueio) for dances (cf. loincloth, VII -- 3, d (2)). Once the branch or trunk that suits them is chosen, they cut it and start to beat the bark with a wooden mallet until /in the original source the line of type that follows these words is the duplicate of one that properly appears later in the paragraph, while the line that belongs here is missing/ as if it were a shirt sleeve or a cape. With a cutting object (formerly a taquara /a bamboo/) they detach the part that they want. The

/229 cont./

*192 276 dilute it in water. They also crumble the leaves of kaxpí-pũrĩ and of kãna-pũrĩ, reducing them to a mass like tobacco, which is precisely called kaxpí-mõ'rõ (tobacco of kaxpí) and which is mixed with the previous liquid. They also mix in the leaves of doxké-morẽrĩ-dá and duxtú-sarẽnõ-dá.

[115] A seringueiro /rubber worker/ from Urânia (on the Colombian Uaupés /spelled Vaupés in Colombia/), with a Tukano mother and raised and living among the natives of the region, heard from the Taryana that, besides the above cipos, they also use the one /230/ called ma-kaxpí-dá, of which there are three varieties, which produce a very strong drink, hence the fame of the kaxpí of the Taryana as being stronger.

• [415] A few hours of infusion in water, in an amphora of 8 or 10 liters in capacity, with the customary designs, called kaxpí-tõ, are enough for it to be in a condition to be consumed. Its use is reserved exclusively for persons of the masculine sex and mature age. They believe that the "ritual blowing" by the pajé or by some Komũ increases its imagination-exciting quality. It is served in small cuias, followed immediately by libations of caxirí.

Under the action of the kaxpí, the Indian is said to have pleasant visions. "He sees luminous signals" was the expression of our useful Tukano helper, Antônio Barreto. And it was also what Koch Grünberg saw (Zwei Iahre, 201), to whom it seemed that he saw marvelous bright sparkles when he turned his eyes toward the dark, or red flames when he ran them across the paper.

An official of the Colombian customs in Iauareté (river Uaupés) took it and saw images of objects with great brightness, and with all clarity he perceived geometrical figures, and even theorems of trigonometry came to his mind. A trader from the river Querarí revealed to us that on a certain occasion the kaxpí had caused in him a beautiful and pleasant distortion of the sensations. Thus the women seemed to be slithering snakes with very beautiful decorations; the flutes /flautas-de-pã, Panpipes/ gave him the impression of a large orchestra.

T /231 cont./

*192 276 Across this bag runs a stick, called /232/ pátu-pá:-ko. Introducing it in a tube of elongated pestle shape (of 1.80 meters and about 15 centimeters in diameter, and called pátu-pá:põ), they knock the bag against the walls of the tube with their two hands, until the powder is so finely pulverized that it passes through the bag and is deposited in the tube. In order to facilitate the work, they customarily tie this tube to one of the columns of the maloca, in such a way that the opening stays a meter in height from the ground, a comfortable position for the one who must "beat" the ipadú, and the closed end rests on the ground.

T [415] Finally the powder is taken out and kept in proper bags, also of tururí, called pátu-ahuró or pátu-waxsóro, the mouth of which has thrust in it a fine tube, pátu-baarí-oã, of taquara

Ipadú bag (patu ahuró)

or of heron bone (yehé-oã), through which the powder is drawn in, just as a refreshment is sucked in our bars. This is done on trips, because in the house the ipadú is more commonly kept in a cuia, and they help themselves to it by taking a handful with a wooden spatula or even a leaf. They do it with care in order to keep the powder from falling into the windpipe.

M 276 The Maku prepare it in balls. The Indian uses ipadú especially when he goes hunting or fishing, because, narcotic that it is, it keeps him from feeling hunger or thirst, and in this way he dispenses with carrying food. They make it into a ball which they keep in a corner of the mouth, sucking on it little by little. The women, except for very rare exceptions, do not eat the ipadú; only the adult men.

T M [562]

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/Illustrations facing p. 257 in the original source./

Quiver of arrows (busá-sa), arrows for the sarabatana, and pot containing curare

M
*[192]

Preparation of the curare (nimá) by a Maku Indian

/377/

765 most horrible stench, there remaining at the end only the carbonized bones, which are immediately ground up and reduced
[415] to powder. This powder is then placed in various enormous tubs (vats or vessels made out of wood) full of caxiri. The group present then drinks the caxiri until the last drop is finished. They believe that by so doing the virtues of the dead are transmitted to everyone who takes this drink."

171 765 It is a custom that is found among other tribes of America, and even of the Amazon, according to the information from the ancient explorers, for example, among the Warekena of the rivers Içana and Xié, the Šomena of the river Japurá, etc. (cf. "Roteiro /Logbook/" of Pe. Noronha, 222). And, according to what was told us in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, this custom was in force until the end of the last century among the Taryana, until the beginning of this one among the Kubewãna, according to what Koch G. states and, moreover, what the Wanãna of Carurú-
4 cachoeira told us in 1955, and it is the present practice of the tribes of the river Cauaburi, among whom Pes. Miguel Ghigo and Antônio Goes were present at such events.

[115] The same custom also existed among the Wanãna, we were assured by Tomás Paiva, son of the tuxawa /sic/ of Carurú-cachoeira, and other young Wanãna, but it fell into disuse as early as two generations ago.

765 Among the Kubewãna Koch G. (Z. I. 316) was present at one of these events in the maloca of Namacoliba (?). The Tuxaua disinters the remains of his predecessor, dead for 15 years, and burns it in front of the maloca. The carbonized bones are later cleaned and placed in a pot on the fire day and night for a month, until they are reduced to ashes. These, on the occasion of a solemn caxiri, which is held with a large crowd of people, are pounded, sifted, and mixed with a thick drink, prepared in great abundance with maize. The Tuxaua, with a stick, tries to spread the ashes well in the drink, and afterwards, with a large cuia, distributes it to the men standing around him. It is a drink reserved for the old ones and the fathers and mothers of families, who, although they might not be old, already have three children.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest.

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed.

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry.

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiarí, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared.

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will

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usually accompanied by an unmarried daughter, who is both helper and chaperon, a dog, and her breast baby. Her equipment is a machete (in the past it was a digging stick), a portage basket, and a tray upon which she rests her baby.

With the machete she cuts the long root at the base of a mature manioc plant and then loosens the earth so as to pull out the cluster of tubers. Each root yields an average of six tubers, two of which are large, two medium, and two small. This phase of the work is difficult but the woman moves quickly and silently. She does not sing at her work. Her daughter, assistant and apprentice, tears each tuber from the root, scrapes it clear of earth, and drops it in the basket. When a basket has been filled the woman gathers up the stems of the manioc plant, trims them of their leaves, and stacks the cuttings neatly in small heaps. She burns the leaves to add ash to the soil. She does not replant the cuttings immediately, but allows them to lie for several days. After an accumulation a woman devotes a morning to replanting. She breaks up the soil of the segment she has harvested and forms it into small mounds, into each of which she puts a number of trimmed cuttings, setting them in at a sharp angle. She works segments of garden that are about 25 yards square. After replanting, the earliest harvest will be after half a year, but full maturity takes two years. Each 25-square-yard segment yields from 50 to 60 pounds of manioc, or one basket load.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for whom I have productivity figures, the household of the headman harvested 400 baskets of manioc annually. Another household that had three adult women harvested 500. One old woman had a minimum yield of 150 and all other households averaged close to 200. Ten households produced 2,530 baskets, or some 75 tons of manioc a year. A basket of manioc converts into two large manioc cakes. In the headman's household of seven people three cakes were eaten every two days, leaving a "surplus" of close to 30 per cent for use as chicha and as farinha. On the other hand, households producing 200 baskets annually are close to the subsistence line.

The point of this digression into production figures has been to show how exigent are the demands upon the woman's labor. The women feel that they cannot afford to interrupt their labors or they will fall behind. Nevertheless, childbirth, illness, ceremonies – women do not garden on the day of a ceremony – and the press of other activities such as accompanying men on prolonged trips for hunting (in the nature of a respite for a woman) take their toll of labor time. Women do not complain of having too much to do. On the contrary, I have heard the grievance that the manioc garden is too small.

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462 ment is slower and altogether less vigorous. Usually, except when she
461 is very strong and young, the woman interrupts her scraping for a
252 rest or change of occupation. For example, the work may be staggered. If the mother begins the scraping and the daughter continues with the peeling, the daughter, when she has finished peeling, will take over the scraping, while the mother prepares to begin the next process. The manioc mash that has accumulated at the far end of the board is removed by hand and thrown into a basket tray, and the liquid drained off into a pot to be poured out.

• [415] A substantial part of the poisonous liquid of the manioc has been removed in the scraping on the grater; the mash is further dried by pounding it through a tightly woven basket sieve. A tripodal frame is set up and the sieve set on it at a woman's waist level. The pounding, also strenuous work, requires vigorous motion of the arms, back, and shoulders. With both fists clenched the woman attacks the mash, [516] using her arms as pistons in a crisscross motion. The mash is frequently turned. As this work is done standing up, the woman has a chance to limber her legs. Because of the height at which the sieve is set little girls are not very efficient at the pounding, and only help out for a little while. When the mash is relatively dry after a thorough pounding it is put into a long tubular squeezer (the tipiti). The woman grips the lower end of the flexible tube between her knees, and bending the top toward her, fills it with the mash from the sieve. When full, the squeezer is hung from a projecting beam at one of the house posts. Through a loop at the lower end of the squeezer a long pole of heavy wood is inserted, the fulcrum end going through a few twists of heavy rope around the post. This phase of the work affords the woman a rest from the strenuous labor of scraping and pounding. She may sit on the pole, adjusting the pressure by the distance from the fulcrum. A woman is sometimes joined by another, who helps her sit on the pole. The liquid starch that runs down the sides of the squeezer is collected in a pot set for it. The pot is covered with a layer of ash that absorbs the volatile prussic acid, and the clear starch is used as the base for a porridge.

The mash, free of much of its prussic acid content, is finally formed into a cake upon the flat circular oven at the rear of the house. The baking is leisurely and as women wait their turn at the communal oven they enjoy some sociable moments.

462 A good housewife prepares a fresh manioc cake daily since the
252 cake tastes best when fresh, moist, and warm. On the second day a
[512] cake is dry and considerably less palatable. Thus, under ordinary conditions, the routine of manioc preparation is daily. However, a wom-

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582 554 [433] providing drinking parties. While prestige is not a negligible factor in motivating production it is secondary to subsistence needs.

Compared to manioc, all other subsistence horticulture is of trifling 291 significance. The list of Cubeo cultivations besides manioc is a lengthy 262 one, but except for the pupunha palm there is nothing on it that adds bulk to the diet. Crops cultivated by the Cubeo include bitter manioc (*kerika*), yam (*nydmu*), sweet potato (*yapika*), maize (*hardiye*), and tabena (*mwa*), as well as the following unidentified tubers: *kwaivdrya, walwari, mod, pudjú, kanéka,* and *kabéka.* In addition there are sugar cane (*kaudmene*), pineapple, (*ihibo*), banana (*djuvdye*), plantain (*dne*), pupunha (*une*), gourd (*hordbe*), calabash [273] (*hahdmu*), coca (*patú*), tobacco (*butel*), and capsicum (*bya*). The [415] pupunha palm is important only as an ingredient in chicha. Gourds serve as vessels, and yams, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, and maize barely supplement the diet. Sugar cane has become a most important ingredient to chicha, and every community grows several varieties of [273] melons. Most of the starchy tubers the Cubeo grow are used to lend variety to chicha, not to the solid diet.

241 The Cubeo, as I have already observed, have a very strong feeling for domestication. This covers plant as well as animal life. They are eager to plant anything that comes recommended and to follow the [272] advice of experts. Some have planted coffee shrubs, although no one drinks coffee and they have no other use for the bean. One man built an immense box on stilts which he filled with earth so that he could plant onions safe from pests. Neither he nor anyone else in his com- [462] munity cared for onions. Sugar cane, as already noted, is mainly a male cultivation, but all other food products except for manioc may be grown equally by either men or women. No plant is neglected and the busiest woman seems to have time to look after her plantings, which may be scattered all over the secondary clearing or inner plaza. [431] The produce of these scattered plantings, a melon or two, a handful [421] of sweet potatoes, are often given as gifts from one household to an- [85] other. Children, too, have their plantings.

Finally, every household has chickens, descended from stock 235 brought in by white settlers. Chickens belong to women, mainly, I believe, because that is what the Colombians and Brazilians thought [262] was proper. Although the Indians take good care of the chickens they [439] do not ordinarily eat them, regarding them either as pets or trading them to the occasional white man who comes by. In some communities, chickens roost in nearby trees – others provide roosting places in the maloca. A few communities rear ducks in the same manner,

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A few communities rear ducks in the same manner, and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiarí. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pediba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a

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A Death

The tinder-dry wood heaped underneath was soon alight and Kuarumey, helped again by his son, began to turn the hull, holding the canoe on rollers, first the right way up, then upside down and lastly on its side. The flames from the fire leapt five feet into the air all along its length and the men began to sweat as they watched. Soon they were covered in charcoal from head to foot. Every so often Kuarumey reached for his coca bag and shook some of the powder into his mouth. Gradually the sides of the trunk were forced open and wedges were placed along its length.

'In the Llanos they hang the canoe over the fire and there is less danger of the wood actually bursting into flames,' said Horacio. At that moment Kuarumey's wife approached us along the path carrying an earthen bowl full of *chicha*. 'And they don't let women approach during the burning for fear of the wood splitting.'

All day long they worked on the smouldering canoe. About midday they bound the ends with liana to prevent it splitting and occasionally put mud on the thinner parts to prevent further burning. The work was completed before dusk. The canoe would cool gradually during the night, and in the morning the braces would be removed and replaced by flat wooden supports. Then Kuarumey would try out his new canoe in the river. It was well built and the sides were even, barely half an inch thick throughout. It should last him for several seasons, providing he did not lose it during the winter floods.

The sun shone warmly on the russet water as Kuarumey paddled the slim canoe away from the port and down the river – so light, so strong, so manageable and in shape so beautiful, yet for ourselves unthinkable – we would have capsized in a moment; only Horacio could master an Indian craft. *El Diablo* was now on the bank drying in the sun, and Horacio and José were starting to recaulk the battered shell.

The rough passage over dried-out river channels, through log-strewn stream beds, across the portage and over vicious rocks, had jarred the joints so much that, were we now to have slid her into the water, she would have sunk like a sieve. For days we had left her on the bank to absorb the heat of the morning sun, turned her and then covered her with a tarpaulin against the occasional afternoon storms, Now the old caulking was pulled away and melted down together with the pitch we had brought from Mitú. However, this was not sufficient and José exchanged some of our fish-hooks for wild beeswax and resin, and this too was melted down.

The fragrant smell of pitch and beeswax filled the air and as the lumps slowly dispersed in the bubbling black syrup, José began to tell of the rapids which lay ahead: 'Listen to the water,' he said, and in the distance we could hear the rumbling; the falls were three bends downstream. 'Only half a day's journey away is the fall we call Piña. In the dry season it is a long series of rapids and we need help to carry everything from the upper end, through

/p. 62-B/

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ABOVE: Coca leaves are put into a cooking pot before baking. BELOW: Curing a hangover by inhaling green pepper.

/p. 70-B/

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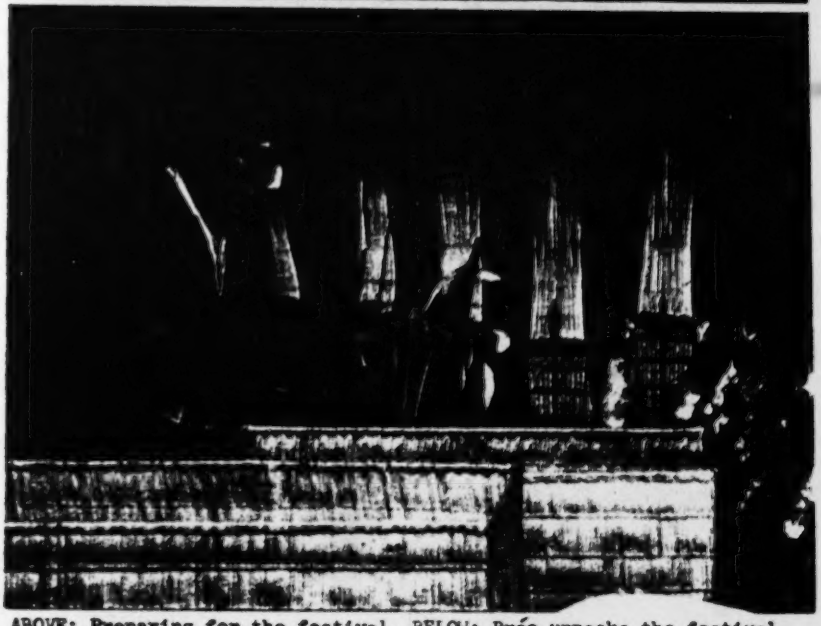

ABOVE: Preparing for the festival. BELOW: Bréo unpacks the festival feather headdresses from their boxes.

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of the men's entrance. Boys carefully pick the tobacco leaves one by one and lay them out on cane matting to dry. An Indian sits in the shade of the *maloca's* overhanging eaves and starts to make string from strands of tough *cumare*. His graceful movements as he rolls the fibre with the palm of the hand on his shining thigh, the string looped around his right big toe, are like those used in the making of Venetian glass. An older man sits near by, deeply engrossed in the construction of a large, shallow cassava basket, a maze of cane strips almost hiding his wizened face.

The women file through their entrance, their great loads of manioc white and clean after their river washing. They pause for a moment or two and eat some cassava or the pineapples and wild fruit which they have just brought back, but soon they are working again, pulverizing the manioc on the shield-shaped wooden grating boards which have minute flints or tough palm spines set into their baked-clay surface. They work as a team, some grating, others washing the manioc in vast basket-sieves slung between wooden tripods, while yet others extract the poisonous prussic acid by placing the grated manioc flour in a snake-like *matapí*, a long squeezer of plaited cane. With the upper end looped over a pole, a woman stretches its mesh by sitting on a second pole placed in the lower loop. The *matapí* contracts and the poisonous juice runs out.

When the flour from the *matapí* is ready it is placed on the large flat ovens to make rough cassava pancakes, the Amazonian daily bread, which they eat at every meal together with fish and meat brought back from the forest. The starch from the washed manioc is also baked to make wafer-thin toasted biscuits to add to the *chicha*. Some of the flour is spread thinly on another oven to make the nutty grounds of *farinha*, and the liquid from the washing and squeezing is boiled to neutralize the poison, then poured into the long canoe-trough to make *chicha*.

The noise of grating and the creaking of the tripods lasts all afternoon. A girl feeds her pet parrot some insects, then, taking a strand of *cumare* and winding it around her toe, she starts plaiting string for a hammock to replace her old one. Squatting on the ground, an old woman kneads clay and wood ash. She rolls the clay mixture into coils on a flat board and between the palms of her hands. Then she places them coil upon coil about a clay base, smooths the clay with a pebble and leaves the completed pot in the shade of the *maloca*. Later it will be put on a fire and surrounded with wood bark and ash to bake. Occasionally we saw an iron pot, which at some time in the past must have been traded up the rivers from the Caquetá or the Vaupés. These were sufficiently few to be highly treasured and hadn't affected their own

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ABOVE: *The shaped but unfinished canoe is dragged down to the river.* BELOW: *Then it is warped open over a fire.*

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415 pottery making, a craft which has been all but forgotten among many of the Indians of Colombia.

512 Throughout the afternoon the women continue with their tasks while the men prepare their tobacco and smoke it wrapped in long cylinders of
276 banana leaf, or take snuff, lying in their hammocks or crouching on small wooden stools. The snuff, kept in gourds or large snail shells, is made in most cases from ground tobacco; it is first placed in the palm of the hand, then a small quantity is poured into a hollow V-shaped deer bone, and is injected into the nostrils by inserting one end of the V in the nose and the other in the mouth and blowing.

During the afternoon an Indian burns the *yarumo* leaves from the coca basket in the centre of the *maloca*, the ash being carefully raked into a neat
276 pile on the earthen floor. Earlier the coca leaves from the basket had been baked in a large earthenware pot over a hot fire, all the while being stirred with a hooped stick. The toasted leaves were then powdered inside a short wooden cylinder. They are further refined by being put into a barkcloth bag wrapped round a heavy stick, and beaten inside a large cylinder. The *yarumo* ash is added to the finely ground powder – this ash takes away the bitterness, and perhaps also the worst effects of the drug – and once again the mixed coca and ash is beaten in the long cylinder to the consistency of dust. Often this involved procedure goes on far into the night, and we became quite accustomed to go to sleep with the monotonous thudding noise still reverberating around the *maloca*. With the final process completed the powder is emptied into a half-gourd or into small barkcloth pouches, ready for the next journey or hunting trip, during which an Indian may live solely on the drug, going without sleep, food and drink for days.

The inscrutable nature of the Tukano may in part be due to his addiction to cocaine which deadens his senses and affects the eyes so that the pupils often appear dilated. This may also account for a lack of individuality among many of the men who often appear listless and resigned.

354 At dusk the hunters return and sometimes a monkey or a wild turkey helps out with the evening meal of cassava. The only light in the *maloca* after dark comes from the fires, but on special occasions, such as a festival, the head of the house places a chunk of beeswax taken from a wild bees' nest in the forest on a large post in the centre of the *maloca*, lighting it with a firebrand. But the flickering light barely penetrates the gloom. At other times a strip of slow-burning resinous wood is put in a fork of the same post. It is this wood – a type of cedar – which the Indians use to travel with at night, allowing it to
512 smoulder and blowing it into flame when needed. As night comes the doors are secured and, except for the sporadic mumblings of a few old Indians squatting around the fires, all is silent.

224 The Tukano is a hunter. From his early childhood he develops the ability

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114 the nebula in his sword. Sirius stood out a pale electric blue and later we could see the Morning Star in the east.

The river was wide and very shallow, and we got into difficulties: 'José went to sleep on the engine and we hit a rock in midstream – a horrible grinding noise as it passed under the boat, then a crash as it hit the engine. She is letting a lot of water in, though it does not seem to have damaged her seriously. We are lucky; if this had been an aluminium boat she would have ripped from end to end.'

Two days below the falls we reached our dump again and reloading our equipment set off downstream, waving goodbye to Uriel who set off for his *maloca* on the Querarí; only José now remained. *El Diablo* was fully loaded again, she began leaking badly and Horacio made running repairs as we moved down the river. Soon a wind got up, the water became very choppy and we found ourselves baling continuously as the water slopped over her two or three inches of freeboard. She was not going to last very much longer.

All along the banks the forest presented a solid wall. There were seldom any 175 breaks where there might have been a habitation. A clan of the Tukano, the Letuama, had lived here before the advance of the rubber barons early in the 342 century. A few still remained and we visited one of their houses. The *maloca* was shaped like a pagoda, quite unlike anything we had seen before, round at the base with a steeply slanting thatched roof, terminating in a ridge about thirty feet above the hard earth-baked floor. Inside, every sheaf of each section of thatch seemed to have been measured and the whole had an appearance of amazing symmetry. The light came in through two roof apertures and inside, though cool, it was nearly as bright as outdoors. This was surprising as the darkness of the Amazonian house is a deterrent to flying [415] insects. In strange contrast to the house were the old aluminium pots and tin trunks lying inside – a sharp reminder that we had left the Piraparaná. The headman and his family had deserted the house and it was now used by the occasional passing Indian as a resting-place.

114 We met two *caucheros* who had their houses on the river bank. One of them, Alirio, was half-Indian by birth. His father had been a European-educated official of the Colombian government, who in his later years had preferred the life of the forest. Alirio had known no other life; he had married an Indian girl and now spent his days collecting wild rubber, selling it to another *cauchero* further down the river. He was talkative and eager to help; he told us of a botanist – Dr Schultes – whom he had accompanied beyond the first rapids on the Piraparaná. When he knew we had come all the way from the Vaupés he seemed almost disbelieving. He told us on no account should we continue all the way to the Caquetá on this river, for there were many rapids; moreover, nearer the mouth of the river there were falls, one nearly as big as Jirijimo. Our only way was by a portage which led through the forest to another river, the Miritiparaná. From there it was possible, he